15th International Congress
of Turkish Art

Naples, Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”
16-18 September 2015

SPONSORED BY THE MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND TOURISM, REPUBLIC OF TURKEY.

This publication is subsidized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Turkey, the University of Naples "L'Orientale" and the Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino (Rome).

La pubblicazione è finanziata con un contributo dal Progetto del Ministero dell'Istruzione dell'Università e della Ricerca (MIUR): "Studi e ricerche sulle culture dell'Asia e dell'Africa: tradizione e continuità, rivitalizzazione e divulgazione".

Editorial Board

Michele Bernardini
Alessandro Taddei
Michael Douglas Sheridan
Serpil Bağcı

Ankara, ©Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Turkey
Napoli, Università di Napoli, "L'Orientale"
Roma, Istituto per l'Oriente C.A. Nallino
2018

©The editors and the authors
All right reserved.

ISBN 978-975-17-4114-1

Yayın Numarası: 3620

Baskı : Önka Matbaa
www.onkamatbaa.com - 0312 384 26 85

Layout and design by Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino
www.ipocan.it/index.php/it
Printed and bound in Turkey
Cover: *Kitab-ı Bahriye*, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. Ms. W.658, f. 238b, under Creative Commons Licence. Graphics by Mariano Cinque.

15TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF TURKISH ART

Proceedings

Editors

Michele BERNARDINI, Alessandro TADDEI

with the collaboration of

Michael Douglas SHERIDAN

Ankara

2018

In memoriam of Professor Ernst Grube

THE IMAGE OF THE TURKS IN THE NEAPOLITAN CRÈCHE BETWEEN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE CASE OF THE MARCHING BANDS

Lorenzo Ebanista
Independent researcher

The aim of this paper[1] is to analyse the transposition of 'Turkish' figures, made in the Neapolitan crèche, with specific reference to those that made up the eastern military bands. Starting from documentary evidence, here are analysed in details the most important marching bands preserved in public and private crèche collections, taking into account the physical traits of the figures, their clothing and the musical instruments played. Compared to studies of the late 20th century, who brought back these scenes to the generic field of Exoticism and Orientalism using only few and isolated figures, the present work provides a systematic study of the groups, following, where possible, their establishment and defining their formal aspects between reproduction of originals and adaptation of local models.

The evolution of the crèche from holy to ethnographic representation

The crèche is defined as the artistic representation of the Nativity of Christ, especially in its three-dimensional version fitted with single figures.[2] Although often the crèches were prepared with sculptures dressed according to the fashion of the time they were produced, the representation in many cases maintained its original task that is the revival of the Gospel events (integrating the scene of the Nativity with those of the 'Annunciation to the Shepherds' and the 'Adoration of the Wise Men'). However, in some cases, artists and 'directors' included scenes and characters definitely uncommon to the Gospel[3] in order to lead to a temporal and geographical transposition of the story rather than to its integration, thanks to their expressive power.[4] The classic Neapolitan crèche (Fig. 1), standardized between the second half of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century, generally consists of figures made using the technique of dressed mannequin and includes scenes related to towns, countryside and Eastern world (Ebanista 2012: 15-28). The authors of the figures and the fitters of sets, probably, interpreted and translated on their own the various aspects related to a world that was for them so distant and quite unknown. This is the case, for example, of the so-called 'Eastern parade' which originally represented the entourage of the Wise Men, but gradually became a separate scene (Fig. 2) mainly consisting of figures reproducing the characters of different people belonging to the Ottoman Empire (Ebanista 2013: 15-18). The recurring inclusion of African (Ebanista 2013, 26-29), Anatolian (Catello 1992: 35) and

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Michele Bernardini for the encouragement and the interest shown in my research and to Prof. Letizia Midiri for the friendly support in revising the English text.

[2] It is generally accepted the derivation of the crèche from the theatrical representation known as *Sacre rappresentazioni* or Mystery plays when the actors were replaced by statues. With specific reference to the Neapolitan crèche the evolution of the sculptures (smaller, adjustable, realistic and different in size) allowed the arrangement of a complex scenario with attention to perspective and the possibility of customize position and attitude of the figures. When the crèche left the churches to reach the palaces it lost most of the original religious aspect and became a widespread tradition and a status symbol actualized with the introduction of elements from everyday life and exotic world. Once standardized the secular version of the Neapolitan crèche was finally adopted in the churches too.

[3] The 'Tavern' (represented as a Neapolitan inn) and the 'Eastern parade' are the most peculiar.

[4] Among the anachronisms existing in the Neapolitan crèche, due to its setting in the 18th century, one of the more surprising for the foreign visitors was the presence of the symbols of the Islamic world (Ebanista 2012: 15).

15th International Congress of Turkish Art. *Proceedings*, edited by Michele Bernardini and Alessandro Taddei. ©T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Università di Napoli "l'Orientale", Istituto per l'Oriente C. A. Nallino, 2018: pp. 279-293.

Caucasian (Ebanista 2013: 21-26) figures, essential elements of the representations, testifies the existence of diplomatic relations with the Islamic world, no longer perceived as a dangerous neighbour, but as a rich 'East' full of rare and wonderful things (D'Amora 2003: 720).

The vision of the East between knowledge and interpretation

The visit to Naples in 1741 of the Sultan emissary (*Regno di Napoli* 1741), the one of the Bey of Tripoli the following year (*Diario ordinario* 1743: 3-4) and the mission of the Moroccan ambassador in 1782 (*Gazzetta universale* 1782: 528, 544; *Diario estero* 1783: 3-6) certainly helped to spread the direct knowledge of weapons, furniture, clothing, musical instruments and jewellery used by the people of the Ottoman Empire, encouraging the reproduction in miniature in the crèche.[5] The well refined and accurate execution of the figures shows the image of the Turks held by the Neapolitan artists and artisans between the 18th and 19th centuries. Although the term 'Turks' was often inappropriately used, in the ordinary language and in official documents, as a synonym for people belonging to the Ottoman Empire[6] or professing the religion of Islam (Gizzio 1664: 51; Pianzola 1801: 21), the fine execution of the sculptures, clothes and accessories allows a detailed analysis of the transposition in the crèche. On the other hand, during the 18th century the eastern influence was particularly significant in Europe in various fields such as fashion, furnishing, interior decorations and music; in the latter was particularly successful the one defined *alla turca* (Masala 1978: 11) characterized by an extensive use of percussion instruments (Ranieri 2011: 48). The music of the Ottoman military bands had a large impact on European courts (Bowles 2006) and inspired the most famous composers such as Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven and Gluck (Hunter 1998: 43-46), along with typical instruments like *çevgân* (Masala 1978: 42-43; Facchin 2000: 43; Randel 2003: 294)[7] and their reproduction became an essential component of the most important Neapolitan crèches.

The Turkish military bands in the Neapolitan vision

The band that opened the parade organized in Naples, during the Carnival of 1778, was composed by sixty-one musicians (Morghen 1778),[8] quite the same number of the real military bands (Ferrario 1832: 57; Facchin 2000: 53). In the crèche representation, however, the number of the members is generally much smaller and sometimes the instruments played did not reproduce accurately the characteristics of those who were inspired to.
The eastern bands in Neapolitan crèche have been properly examined, as part of Exoticism and Orientalism, at the end of the 20th century by Giovanni Curatola (Curatola 1984: 757-759) and Elio Catello (Catello 1992: 35, 136-139). In this paper I analyse twelve[9] out of the

[5] The fashion of the exotic, common to all of Europe, took over in Naples a theatrical aspect, realistic and at the same time spectacular (Muratgia 1992: 419), the perception of the Turks in Naples was strongly influenced by the uncommon aspects, especially in their clothing (Musella Guida 2014: 26-27).

[6] An example of the frequent confusion between various 'Eastern' peoples is provided by the Mozart-Da Ponte opera *Così fan tutte* (1790) where two Albanians are exchanged for Turks or Wallachians. According to Edward Said (Said 2012: 11-14), it seems, in such case, that the vision of the unusual appearance of Eastern people is superseded by the invention of the western image of the Orient (Wolff 1994: 113).

[7] Known in Western countries also as Turkish crescent, *Schellenbaum*, *mezzaluna* or *chapeau chinois*.

[8] *Banda di sessantuno stromenti da fiato, composta di oboè, clarinetti, trombe, fagotti, piattini, e tamburi* in the first division opening the parade, followed by two horse bands: *Banda a cavallo, composta di otto trombe, ed un timpano* in the second division and *Banda a cavallo, composta di Trombe, corni, e fagotto* in the ninth division.

[9] Another band, composed of eight elements (five Turkish and three blacks), appeared in a Christie's auction in Paris in June 2016; by the first analysis of the only available image, the group appears homogeneous and of excellent quality, three band members play the horn and one each the clarinet, the

most important groups belonging or belonged to public and private collections, taking into account the physical features of the figures, clothing and musical instruments.[10] For three groups we only have descriptions while for the remaining nine we also have images. The bandsmen from the royal Borbone collection are described in detail (ASN, Casa Reale, Archivio amministrativo, inventari, busta 491, ff. 3, 7r, 8v, 14, 26r, 27v, 46r), while for those included in the Varelli (Varelli s.d.: 13-14)[11] and Sambon (Catalogue exposition 1908, 116)[12] collections we just know the total number of the members or a little more. For some groups such as Perrone (Esposizione nazionale di belle arti 1877: 421)[13] and private Neapolitan (El belén napolitano 2007: 30-31) (Fig. 3) collections and 'Marble palace' (Gockerell 2005: 286-287) (Fig. 4) and Ricciardi (Bossa 1907: 68,72) (Fig. 5) crèches we just have few images and information, while the bands belonging to Cuciniello (Fittipaldi 1990: 121-129, Creazzo 2005: 27) (Fig. 6), Gatti Farina (Nicolini 1930: 12; Calzini 1939: 889) (Fig. 7) and Leonetti (Molajoli 1950: fig. 3; Causa-Leonetti 1964: n.p.) (Fig. 8) crèches and Catello (Mancini 2004: 95-107: 124) (Fig. 9) and Alvigini (Parini 1961: 24; Finarte casa d'aste 1990: lots 102-109) (Fig. 10) collections are well documented in various issues. Although in some cases the bands have undergone to losses and break up so to make it difficult to be identified,[14] the aim of the present study, where possible, is to reconstruct the original composition of groups, considering the physical aspects of the figures, their clothing and the musical instruments associated with (according to both western and eastern traditions).

Considering that the original instruments may have been replaced during the years in dressed mannequins (except of course in the case of swollen cheeks in the act of playing the wind instruments), it should be noted that there is no direct association between the skin tone of the players and the types of instruments, as well as between the number of band members and their physical features.

snake and the cymbals, the stick of the band leader and the instrument of one musician are missed (Christie's 2016, lot 49). Pending the availability of further details of assessment, I decided not to include this group in the present study.

[10] I did not take into account the three figures preserved in the Neapolitan church of S. Lorenzo (Neapolitan crèche figures 2003: 50-51), those already belonging to the dispersed Mancini collection, reconstructed only partially through some auction catalogues (Semenzato casa d'aste 1999, lots 59-64; Semenzato casa d'aste 2001, lots 102-104) and those who were part of the crèche of the royal palace of Caserta before the 1985 theft (Catello 1988: 93-95, 107, 128, 143-144, 148), as they are not necessarily representative of the full and original composition of the bands. Considering the transfer of figures from Naples to Caserta for the preparation of the famous crèche of 1844, some of the figures of the Caserta crèche could have been part of the aforementioned Borbone collection (Ebanista 2012: 94). Also the crèche musical instruments preserved in the museum of Valladolid have not been included in the analysis being their relationship with one or more eastern bands not clearly attested (Diaz 2001), some of those instruments were probably part of Perez de Olaguer collection (Ebanista 2012: 88).

[11] *Una banda orientale, composta di ben venti militi asiatici*. The booklet can be dated to 1890 when the crèche was exposed during the exhibition 'Mostra del lavoro nella Galleria Umberto I in Napoli'.

[12] *Concert composé de 11 figures en bois sculpté et peint, vêtues de costumes sarrasins*.

[13] *Venticinque figure orientali che sono il seguito dei Maggi, tutti ben vestiti, con i loro strumenti, da formare una banda musicale, di Mosca*. The bandsmen were previously part of Sgambati and Camerlingo collections (Perrone 1896: 29,36).

[14] Part of the group of twenty-five bandsmen, belonged to the collection of Antonio Perrone, was inherit by Pasquale Perrone (Molajoli 1950, fig. 18; Causa 1951, 58-59) and donated in 1971 to the museum of San Martino in Naples; although eleven elements were part of the donation (Museo nazionale di San Martino 1971, 29-30), only nine figures are currently exposed. The Varelli (Perrone 1896, 31-32) and Alvigini (Finarte casa d'aste 1990, lots 102-109) collections are scattered, the Ricciardi crèche suffered a theft (Creazzo 2005, 23-24), the Sambon collection was acquired in 1911 by the museum Teatrale alla Scala in Milan where the group of crèche figures, that includes at least four musicians and some instruments, is currently not exposed (Ebanista 2012: 84-86) and the Gatti Farina collection by the museum Fundación Bartolomé March of Palma de Mallorca in 1970 (Ebanista 2012: 117) where a group of eighteen figures is documented as *Banda de música de infantería turca* (Llompart-Sánchez Cuenca s.d.: 34).

Despite the heterogeneous nature of the available sources and the inability to track down some bands cited by archival documents and ancient books[15] or vintage photos[16], I can make some considerations about the number of components, the colour of the skin and the instruments they played.

The analysis of the bands examined reveals a number of players between eight and thirty-eight with an average of seventeen components, without prejudice to the eventual loss or disappearance of some figures. The calculation excludes the pieces from the Borbone collection since it is hard to know how many bands they belonged to.

Most of the groups here analyzed were put together during the 19th century and have some common features in clothing, in the setting of the scenes and in the symbolism associated with them. In particular, the musicians dress oriental pants, doublet, waistcoat, sash at the waist and turban, while the band leader, frequently referred in the Turkish way as *Mehterbaşi*, wears the overcoat instead of the waistcoat. The shoes are often modelled as *babouches* with the slightly raised tip and the most common colours of the clothing of the crèche bandsmen are blue and red. The frequent presence of weapons of oriental style seems to be more related to exotic charm rather than to the original military composition of the bands. The groups are sometimes integrated by exotic figures not playing instruments[17] like standard-bearers reproducing eastern symbols as the crescent, sometimes present on headgears too**.**

The eastern bands in the Neapolitan crèche are usually composed by figures having olive, black and, in a minimum percentage, white skin; this multiethnic variety, combined with the characteristics of their clothing, the type of accessories and symbols on banners and musical instruments clearly shows that the producers of figures had not a clear vision of cultural diversity of the Orient; this is also proved by the fact that the word 'Turkish' was often used to indicate, indifferently, the various populations belonging to the Ottoman Empire.

So far the characters depicted with big noses, uttered lips, big moustaches and olive skin are usually recognized as Turkish-Anatolian (Catello 1992: 35) (Fig. 11), while for the black and white skinned characters identification has not been proposed till now. Some details on the ethnic composition of the bands emerge from the inventory of the crèche figures of the Borbone family, drawn up in 1834; the document records five band leaders (one white, three olive, one undefined) and twenty-eight bandsmen (five white, ten olive, eight black, five not otherwise specified).[18] In addition to the absence of black band leaders, it is significant the presence of white skin musicians, documented – as we will see – just in another case. As already said the Turkish band members have often moustaches, while the black ones are generally beardless and the band leaders almost always had a beard.

We should also point out that, regardless of the characters represented, the Turkish figures in the Neapolitan crèche are generally represented with a completely shaved head, except for

[15] Some eastern bands were particularly numerous or refined, we know for instance that there were even three bands in the Terres crèche (Perrone 1896: 22; Correra 1899: 330) and that the instruments of the band of Servillo crèche were produced in Paris (Perrone 1896, 26; Correra 1899, 334), but we have no details on their composition. According to Antonio Perrone, a notable eastern band also stands in the crèche prepared in S. Lorenzo church in Naples (Perrone 1896: 44) where three bandsmen are still preserved (Neapolitan crèche figures 2003, 50-51). A crèche band, composed of fifteen elements, is documented, by vintage photo, in 1939 in the Capuchins church located in Corso Vittorio Emanuele in Naples and a large and rich crèche band is also attested, by personal recollection, until the '70s of the last century, in the Neapolitan church of S. Pietro ad Aram. Antonio Perrone reports the existence of both of these latter crèches but with no reference to the band (Perrone 1896: 44-45), the presence of a large parade of musicians in the Capuchin friars crèche is instead confirmed by Angelo Stefanucci (Stefanucci 1944: 214).

[16] This is the case, for example, of some pictures dating back to the '30s of the 20th century (Nicolini 1930: 19; Radice 1935: 1126; Marchesini 1937: 444; Marchesini 1938: 1473; Calzini 1939: 891).

[17] This may be the reason for some discrepancies in the number of bands members when comparing ancient descriptions with more recent pictures.

[18] The skin colours reported in the inventory are *olivastro*, *bianco* and *moro*.

a tuft at the crown, called *cerro*; the presence of the hair tail, re-enforced by a vice-regal decree of 1657 (Gizzio 1664: 51)[19], was very soon intended, together with the crescent and the turban, as a distinctive sign of belonging to the Islamic religion (Ebanista 2012: 54).

As it regards the skin tone of bandsmen, the predominating figures are those with 'light' skin (two third of total) compared to 'dark' skin (one third). If, as it is likely to be, the difference between the figures of white and olive skin reported in the royal inventories reflected a different ethnic group and not just a change in tone of the skin, we must also admit the existence of 'white' players. The frequent inclusion of figures of Circassians and Georgians in the Neapolitan crèche (Ebanista 2012: 51-56; Ebanista 2013: 21-26) could suggest for these figures a Caucasian origin. As far as I know the presence of 'white' players in the crèche marching bands (Fig. 4) is attested only in the 'Marble palace' crèche installed in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (Gockerell 2005: 287).[20]

The eastern band belonging to Roberto Catello collection[21] (Fig. 9) is particularly interesting, for the quality of the figures, the availability of inventory data and the unique ethnic characteristics represented. The cluster, composed of fifteen elements, can be divided into four different groups: eight Turkish, including the bandleader, five black Africans, the Maghreb player of *çevgân* and the standard-bearer with unusual characteristics, apparently in relation with both Anatolian and African origin.

As far as the geographical origin is concerned, we can assign 65% of the whole figures to Asia (Anatolia 60% and Caucasus 5%) and the remaining 35% to Africa (34% Sub-Saharan and 1% North).

With reference to the similarities between the instruments used by the Ottoman military bands and those used in the Western countries, as outlined by Giambattista Toderini at the end of the 18th century, it has been suggested a direct link between the production of some crèche instruments (Toderini 1787, 238-239) and the corresponding models used by the real Turkish military bands (Curatola 1984: 758-759; Catello 1992: 144). Probably the Neapolitan artisans, when producing the musical instruments for the crèche, just used the western models already present in the city rather than referring to the originals. In the case of instruments not used in Western countries, we must however emphasize that the transposition of the *çevgân* to the crèche reflects accurately the original models consisting quite always in the pagoda shape decorated with many bells and the crescent on the top. We must also note that the *çevgân* is generally used as a standard musical instrument by the band members, while the band leader uses a western style stick, often with ivory knob and tip, to mark the time. The inclusion in the bands of instruments such as snakes and hunting horns is certainly an exception to the philological rigor by set fitters. The presence of these instruments, however, is still reasonable, while the harp played by a bandsman of the Cuciniello crèche, as already highlighted (Curatola 1984: 758; Catello 1992: 136), is definitely unjustified owing to the absence of stringed instruments in the Ottoman bands. Suggestive, however, the hypothesis that the presence of a triangle player in the Ricciardi crèche (Fig. 5) could relate to models of Turkish military bands where this instrument is attested (Tecnologia. Annali universali 1827: 395-396; Fétis 1858: 188-189), although this is, very likely, a contamination with typical elements of local itinerant musicians from the town of Viggiano[22].

Considering the musical instruments mentioned in the inventories and those detected by the images available, I examined one hundred forty-three pieces, a significant sample to reach

[19] *Dicemo, ordinamo, & comandamo, che tutti, & qualsivogliano Turchi esistentino in questa predetta Città,* […] *debbiano portare il Cerro predetto in testa.*

[20] The two bandsmen, who play the snake and the bassoon, to the left in the foreground, are clearly with white skin.

[21] The composition of the scene probably dates back to Eugenio Catello (Mancini 1965: n.p.).

[22] The figures reproducing the characters of musicians from Viggiano, a small town in the south of Italy, are frequently included in the Neapolitan crèche; the usual representation consists of two adults who play the harp and the violin and a boy with the triangle (Ebanista 2012: 48-51).

meaningful conclusions on the musical composition of eastern bands in the Neapolitan crèche. While it is not possible, in some cases, to proceed to the exact identification of the instruments, due to the objective difficulty in detecting technical details such as the number of the reeds or the presence of pistons, we can fairly group them together by major type. Wind instruments have the higher incidence (45% for brass and 37% for wood), followed by cymbals and *çevgân* (7%) and drums (3%), in terms of individual instruments the most common are the horns (15%), the small trumpets (12%), the clarinets (10%), the bassoons (8%), the cymbals, the tuba with pistons and *çevgân* (7%), the trumpets, the double clarinets and the snake (6%) (Fig. 12).

Conclusions

In the Neapolitan crèche, characterised by figures accurately executed and dressed with real cloth, the major additions to the Gospel story are represented by the 'Tavern' and the 'Eastern parade'; while the first is a typical representation of a local Neapolitan inn, the second is absolutely exotic but has been, very likely, influenced by the Neapolitan vision of the world.

The existence of Oriental figures in the Neapolitan crèche can be related to the general interest in exoticisms and to the improved knowledge of eastern habits and customs thanks to the visit of important personalities during the 18th century. In particular, the constant presence of marching bands in the Neapolitan crèche can be explained with the exotic charm of the representation, but it is primarily due to a revival of a trendy phenomenon in Europe in that period. In reproducing dress and musical instruments of the Turkish marching bands the Neapolitan artisans were influenced by the direct, but limited, knowledge of the real eastern models, adapted some similar tools already present in the town and introduced those completely unknown generally with great respect of their original features. The marching bands reproduced in the Neapolitan crèche, with the presence of musicians belonging to different ethnic groups, reflect, as already said, the frequent overlap between the term 'Turk' and citizen of the Ottoman Empire.

The evolution of the crèche from Mystery play to ethnographic evidence, allows a better knowledge of customs and traditions of peoples and countries as perceived in Naples in the course of the 18th century. After dealing with the main local and foreign figures used in the crèche representation (Ebanista 2012) and specifically with figures from Caucasus and Africa (Ebanista 2013), I am particularly pleased that my work on the Turkish military bands benefits of this prestigious location.

Bibliographical References

ASN = Archivio di Stato di Napoli

Bossa, O. G. (1907), "Un presepio artistico" *Il secolo XX*, VI/1: 68-72.

Bowles, Edmund Addison (2006), "The impact of Turkish military bands on European court festivals in the 17th and 18th centuries", *Early Music*, XXXIV/4: 533-9.

Calzini, Raffaele (1939), "Il presepio nell'arte italiana", *L'illustrazione italiana*, LXVI/51: 879-98.

Catello, Elio (1988), *Il presepe della Reggia di Caserta*, Napoli: Sergio Civita.

Catello, Elio (1992), *Cineserie e Turcherie nel '700 napoletano*, Napoli: Sergio Civita.

Causa, Raffaello (1951), "Il presepe napoletano del '700" *Le vie d'Italia*, LVII/1: 58-61.

Causa, Raffaello & Leonetti, Tommaso (1964), *Il presepe napoletano di Casa Leonetti*, Napoli: Arte tipografica.

Christie's auction house (2016), *Sculpture et objets d'art européens,* Paris: Christie's.

Correra, Luigi (1899), *Il presepe a Napoli*, in *L'arte*, II/8-10: 325-46.

Creazzo, Ileana (2005), "Le collezioni del Museo di San Martino", in *Il presepe. Le collezioni del Museo di San Martino*, Napoli: Electa: 13-36.

Curatola, Giovanni (1984), "L'immagine del turco nel presepe napoletano del '700", in Marazzi, U. (ed.), *La conoscenza dell'Asia e dell'Africa in Italia nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, I/2, Napoli, Istituto Universitario Orientale: 749-66.

D'Amora, Rosita (2003), "The diplomatic relations between Naples and the Ottoman empire in mid-eighteenth century: cultural perceptions", in *Oriente Moderno*, n.s. XXII/3: 715-27.

Diario ordinario, *Diario ordinario* 3967, Roma: Stamperia del Chracas, 1743.

Diario estero, *Diario estero* 839, Roma: Stamperia Cracas, 1783.

Díaz, Joaquín (2001), "Instrumentos musicales en el Belén Napolitano del Museo Nacional de Escultura", *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Esculturas,* 5: 23-32.

Ebanista, Lorenzo (2012), *Figure e rappresentazioni presepiali nella tradizione classica napoletana*, Sorrento: Franco Di Mauro.

Ebanista, Lorenzo (2013), *Suggestioni esotiche e fascino orientale nel presepe napoletano. Esempi da collezioni private*, Napoli: Arte tipografica.

El belén napolitano (2007), *El belén napolitano. El arte del Belén entre Nápoles y España*, Salamanca: Caja Duero.

Esposizione nazionale di belle arti (1877), *Catalogo generale dell'arte antica 1877*, Napoli: Tipografia editrice già del Fibreno.

Facchin, Guido (2000), *Le percussioni*, Torino: EDT.

Ferrario, Giulio (1832), *Il costume antico e moderno ovvero storia del governo, della milizia, della religione, delle arti, scienze ed usanze di tutti i popoli antichi e moderni. Europa IV,* Torino: Alessandro Fontana.

Fétis, François-Joseph (1858), *La musica accomodata all'intelligenza di tutti 1,* Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice.

Finarte casa d'aste (1990), *Figure da un presepe napoletano,* Roma: Finarte).

Finarte casa d'aste (2003), *Arredi, dipinti antichi, dipinti del XIX secolo, un gruppo di pastori da presepe napoletani,* Roma: Finarte.

Fittipaldi, Teodoro (ed.) (1990), *Il presepe Cuciniello*, Napoli: Electa.

Gazzetta universale (1782), *Gazzetta universale o sieno notizie istoriche, politiche, di scienze, arti, agricoltura ec. IX*.

Gizzio, Michelangelo (1664), *Pragmaticae, edicta, decreta regiaeq. sanctiones regni neapolitani praetermissae*, Napoli: Egidio Longhi.

Gockerell, Nina (2005), *Krippen im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum* (München: Hirmer).

Hunter, Mary (1998), *The 'alla turca' style in the late eighteen century*, in J. Bellman (ed.), *The exotic in western music*: 43-73.

Llompart, Gabriel & Sánchez Cuenca, Ramón (s.d), *Belén monumental napolitano. S. XVIII* (Palma de Mallorca: Fundación Bartolomé March Servera.)

Mancini, Franco (1965), *Il presepe napoletano nella collezione Eugenio Catello* (Firenze: Sadea/Sansoni).

Mancini, Franco (ed.) (2004), *Il presepe napoletano nel mondo. La raccolta Roberto Catello Napoli, seconda parte*, Sorrento: Franco Di Mauro.

Marchesini, Cesare G. (1937), "L'arte del presepio in Napoli" *Rassegna della istruzione artistica*, VIII/11-12: 438-52.

Marchesini, Cesare G. (1938), "Il presepio italiano" *Le vie d'Italia*, XLIV/12: 1470-1476.

Masala, Anna (1978), *La banda militare ottomana (Mehter)* (Roma: Vettori).

Molajoli, Bruno (ed.) (1950) *La scultura nel presepe napoletano del Settecento. Catalogo della mostra* (Napoli: Francesco Giannini & Figli).

Morghen, Raffaello (1778), *Celebre mascherata fatta nella splendidissima città di Napoli in Campagna felice nel Carnovale dell'anno 1778 rappresentante nella verità della sua maestosa comparsa il viaggio del Gran Signore alla Mecca opera ripartita in undici divisioni ed esemplarizzata in dodici Rami* (Napoli).

Muratgia, Antonella (1992), *Turchi e "turcherie" nel teatro napoletano del '700*, in A. Cilardo (ed.), *Presenza araba e islamica in Campania*: 419-441.

Musella Guida, Silvana (2014), *Relazioni politiche e commerciali tra il Regno di Napoli e la Porta Ottomana nei primi anni del regno di Carlo di Borbone. I doni per e da Mahmud I*, in A. Porzio (ed.), *Dalle collezioni di Palazzo reale a mondi lontani: memorie e immagini*: 9-28.

Museo nazionale di San Martino (1971), *La collezione Perrone*, Napoli: Soprintendenza alle gallerie della Campania.

Neapolitan crèche figures (2003), *Neapolitan crèche figures of the eighteenth century. From the monumental complex of San Lorenzo maggiore in Naples,* Napoli: De Rosa.

Nicolini, Fausto (1930), "Il presepe napoletano" *Il secolo XX* XXIX/57: 5-25.

Parini, Livia (1961), "Folclore e scenografie nel presepe napoletano", *Arte figurativa*, IX/54: 20-5

Perrone, Antonio (1896), *Cenni storici sul presepe,* Napoli: Contessa.

Pianzola, Bernardino (1801), *Vocabolario, turco e italiano, IV,* Venezia: Antonio Zatta Qu. Giacomo.

Presepe colto (1993), *Il regno delle due Sicilie. Il presepe colto*, Palermo: Nuova tavolozza.

Radice, Raul (1935), "Betlemme partenopea" *L'illustrazione italiana*, LXII/50: 1125-6.

Randel, Don Michael (2003), *Harvard dictionary of music,* Cambridge: The Belknap press.

Ranieri, Eugenio (2011), *La moderna musica: storia della musica dal Settecento al Novecento,* Trento: UNI service.

Regno di Napoli (1741), *Relazione della venuta di Hagi Hussein Effendi inviato straordinario della Porta Ottomana e della pubblica udienza che ha avuto dal re nostro signore il giorno 18 settembre 1741*, Napoli: Francesco Ricciardo.

Said, Edward W. (2012), *Orientalismo. L'immagine europea dell'Oriente,* Milano: Giangiacomo Feltrinelli.

Stefanucci, Angelo (1944), *Storia del presepio,* Roma: Autocultura.

Varelli, Carlo (s.d.), *Presepe del Varelli* (Napoli: Filinto Cosmi).

Semenzato casa d'aste (1999), *Un eccezionale presepe napoletano* (Roma: Semenzato).

Semenzato casa d'aste (2001), *Una suggestiva raccolta di pastori da presepe napoletano,* Roma: Semenzato.

Tecnologia. Annali universali, V. (1827), Milano: Editori degli annali universali di medicina, di statistica, ecc.

Toderini, Giambatista (1787), *Letteratura turchesca I,* Venezia: Giacomo Storti.

Union central des arts décoratifs, *Exposition théâtrale. Avril - Octobre 1908. Catalogue*, Paris: Emile Lévy, 1908.

Wolff, Larry (1994), *Inventing Eastern Europe*, Stanford: University press.

Zeppegno, Luciano (ed.) (1968), *Presepi artistici e popolari*, Novara: Istituto geografico De Agostini.

Turkish Abstract

İsa'nın doğumunun üç boyutlu tasvirleri olan *Crèche*'lerden, 18. yüzyılın sonları, 19 yüzyılın başlarında klasik standartlarına kavuşan Napoli örneklerinde hakiki kumaşlardan yapılan giysileri içindeki figürler, şehirlerde, kırlık alanlarda ve egzotik doğu manzaraları içinde tasvir edilmişlerdir. Başlarda Kahinlerin Tapınması sahnesinin bir parçası olan, sonradan kendi başına bir tema haline gelen 'doğulular alayı', çeşitli renk ve ırklarda betimlenmiş Osmanlı figürlerini içerir. *Crèche*'lerde tasvir edilen bu figürlerin giysileri, silahları ve kullandıkları diğer objeler ve başka kimi ayrıntılar hakkında Napolili ustaların görsel kaynakları arasında 18. yüzyılda Osmanlı ülkesinden Napoli'ye gelen heyetler önemli bir yer tutar. Bilindiği gibi, 18. yüzyılda Avrupa'da yaygınlaşan Türk modasının önemli yansımalarından biri müzik alanındadır. Osmanlı askeri müziğinin Avrupa saraylarında ve ünlü bestecilerin eserlerinde etkisi belirgindir. Nitekim, Napoli *Crèche*'lerinin önemli bir bileşenini Çevgân gibi tipik enstrümanlarıyla doğulular alayının müzisyenleri oluşturur. Günümüze ulaşmış çeşitli örnekleriyle alayın bandosundaki müzisyenler ve enstrümanları yakından irdelendiğinde modellerini kesin olarak belirlemek mümkün olmamakla birlikte özgün sazlara yakınlıkları gözlenebilmektedir.

Biographical Note

Lorenzo Ebanista is leading researches on the Neapolitan crèche with movable figures, from his first 17th-century occurrence to the end of the 19th century. Thanks to the systematic cataloguing of sculptures and scenes, he has reconstructed, with an innovative methodological approach, the evolution of some crèche figures and the composition of the most important private and public collections. He has published the monographs *Figure e rappresentazioni presepiali nella tradizione classica napoletana* (Napoli 2012) and *Suggestioni esotiche e fascino orientale nel presepe napoletano* (Napoli 2013). He is author of some contributes included in the volumes *Sculture presepiali della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria: tra viceregno e primo novecento* (Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane, 2018) and *Sculture presepiali napoletane nel Museo Civico di Baranello* (Napoli Nobilissima, in press).

Fig. 1 – Cuciniello crèche (Presepe colto 1993: 39, ©Nuova Tavolozza)

Fig. 2 – Royal Palace of Caserta crèche, part. (Zeppegno 1968: 46; ©Istituto Geografico De Agostini)

Fig. 3 – Neapolitan private collection (El belén Napolitano 2007: 31, ©Caja Duero)

Fig. 4 – Crèche in a 'Marble palace', part. (Gockerell 2005: 287, ©Hirmer)

Fig. 5 – Ricciardi crèche, part. (©Ebanista archive)

Fig. 6 – Cuciniello crèche, part. (Creazzo 2005: 27, ©Electa)

Fig. 7 – Fundación Bartolomé March collection (Llompart-Sánchez Cuenca s.d.: 34, ©Fundación Bartolomé March Servera)

Fig. 8 – Leonetti crèche, part. (Causa-Leonetti 1964 n.p., ©Arte Tipografica)

Fig. 9 – Roberto Catello collection (Mancini 2004: 97, ©Franco Di Mauro)

Fig. 10 – Alvigini collection (Finarte 1990: lots 102-109, ©Finarte)

Fig. 11 – Ebanista collection (Finarte 2003: lots 24-25, ©Finarte)

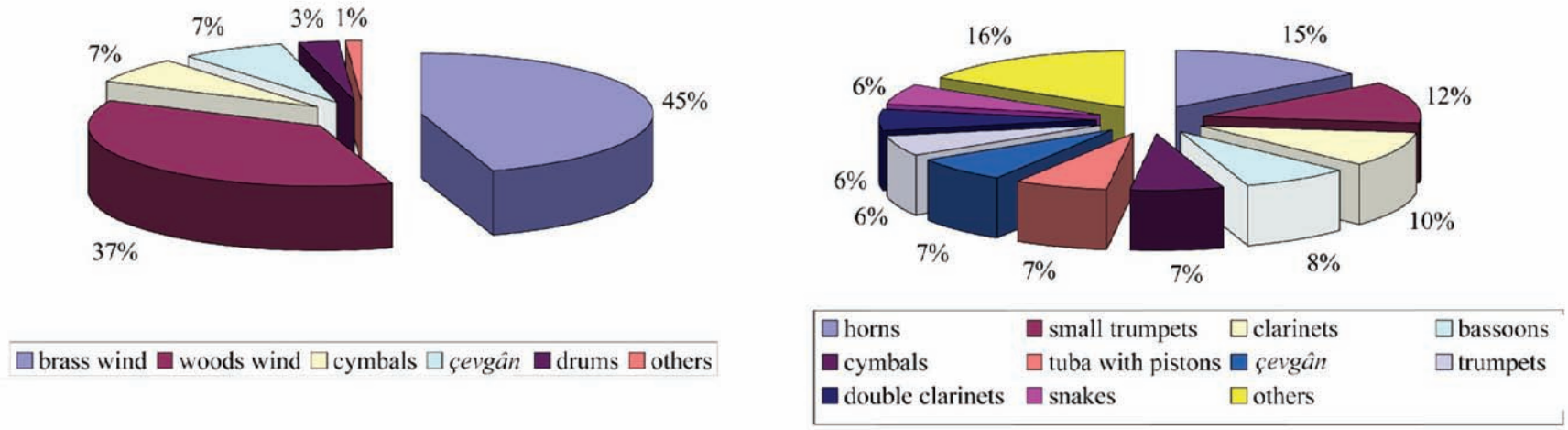

Fig. 12 – Crèche musical instruments by category on the left and by type on the right (Author processing)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Sunuş/Forward	Mehmet Nuri Ersoy, *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı*	5
Introduction	François Déroche, *President of the ICTA*	
ICTA Committees		11
Preface by Michele Bernardini and Alessandro Taddei		15

Articles

Adıgüzel, Hatice	*Materials of European origin in Ottoman architectural decoration: The Italian tiles of Topkapı Palace*	21
Aldemir-Kilercik, Ayşe	*Kazasker Mustafa İzzet and Giuseppe Donizetti within the art scene in the nineteenth century: From manuscripts to scores, from Istanbul to Naples*	35
Alioğlü, E. Füsün & Kösebay Erkan, Yonca	*Tracing Kadırga Palace: Material and archival evidence*	47
Alp, Selda	*Italian sculptors and funerary statues in nineteenth-century Istanbul*	65
Alpagut, Leyla	*Ernst Egli's years in Turkey. Ottoman architecture and the encounter with Turkish houses, designs, and structures for Ankara. Memoirs from "the East"*	77
Ameen, Ahmed	*Ottoman use of existing public buildings in former Byzantine towns: Greece as a case study*	89
Andersen, Angela	*The transfer of Turkish Bektashi* Tekke*s to Alevi* Cemevi*s*	109
Aoki Girardelli, Miyuki	*A note on the "Orientalist" taste in the late-Ottoman court: Japanese and Japonisme objects in the collection of Millî Saraylar*	123
Batariuc, Paraschiva-Victoria & Dinu, Niculina	*Kütahya pottery found at the princely court of Suceava*	133
Bayraktaroğlu, Suzan	*Uşak carpets belonging to Old Mosque (Eski Camii) in Edirne and the sultanic decree for their purchase*	137
Berksoy, Funda	*The artistic reflections of Ottoman-German relations: Fausto Zonaro's drawings and paintings of Kaiser Wilhelm II*	147
Biliaieva, Svitlana	*Italian-Turkish interactions in minor Ottoman art: The archaeological collections of Eastern Europe*	163
Çakır Phillip, Filiz	*Caravaggio: An admirer of Ottoman arms and armour?*	173
Canca, Gülçin Erol	*Surviving Ottoman architectural structures in Serbia's Niš fortress*	185

Castilla, Nuria de	*A binding for Philip II of Spain and its Ottoman inspiration*	197
Colonas, Vassilis	*The multicultural identity of architecture in Thessaloniki under the Tanzimat. Religious buildings in light of the Turkish Prime Minister's Office archives*	207
Coşkun Orlandi, Ayşe & Kösebay Erkan, Yonca	*Tracking down jewelry craftmanship in Istanbul in historical sources*	221
Demirsar Arlı, Belgin	*Expounding on the "figure" feature in Ottoman tiles and ceramics through the figural findings in Iznik tile kiln excavations*	233
Dündar, Mesut	*Architectural reflections of horse culture in Turkey: The imperial stables (İstabl-ı Âmire)*	247
Durocher, Maxime	*Ṭāzya: A Fourteenth century rural complex and its chronology*	263
Ebanista, Lorenzo	*The image of the Turks in the Neapolitan crèche between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth century: the case of the marching bands*	279
Erkmen, Aslıhan	*Incomplete yet intriguing: Nev'īzāde Atāyī's illustrated* Khamsa *at the Free Library of Philadelphia*	295
Gök, Sevinç	*Sixteenth-Nineteenth century Italian ceramics from the Agora of Smyrna*	311
Göloğlu, Sabiha	*Depicting the Islamic Holy Sites: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in late Ottoman illustrated prayer books*	323
Guidetti, Mattia	*Mapping Ottoman flags in the Marches region*	339
Güler, Ayşenur	*A Turkish female artist leaving her trace through the twentieth century: Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı (1903-1998)*	355
Ivkovska, Velika	*Ottoman vernacular architecture in the town of Kastoria (Kesriye), Greece*	365
Kançal-Ferrari, Nicole	*An overview on mosque architecture of the Golden Horde period in Crimea*	383
Katipoğlu, Ceren	*A new perspective towards nineteenth century Ottoman provincial mosques*	401
Kaya, Şennur	*The first porcelain factory of the Ottoman Empire: The Beykoz porcelain factory*	411
Kılıç, Aylin	*In pursuit of meritorious treasures: A late Ottoman collector and painter Hüseyin Zekâi Paşa*	427
Kolay, İlknur Aktuğ	*Musical, cosmic, and geometric metaphors in the* Risale-i Mimariyye *of Cafer Efendi*	435
Kotas, Pelin	*Luigi Piccinato in Turkey*	441
Kundak, Ali Nihat	*Ottoman tower houses (*beg *towers) in the Republic of North Macedonia*	449
Lantin, Martina & Ratte, Felicity	*The 'Masters of Tabriz', workshops and technical development in early Ottoman tile decoration*	461
Önkal, Hakkı	*Thoughts on Ottoman mosques with a front mihrab cell*	473

Özbay, Ender	*The* nā'ūra */ waterwheel: A device, monument, image and phenomenon from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century*	483
Özel, Mehmet Kerem	*A change in meaning: Theatre buildings in the urban landscape of Istanbul over the last 50 years*	499
Özgüleş, Muzaffer	*Two lost churches, two lost mosques: The conversion of the last Latin churches in Chios in 1695*	513
Şahin Tekinalp, Pelin	*Italy as seen through Ottoman wall paintings*	527
Servantie, Alain	*Clocks and Baksheesh: Art presents between foreign princes and the Ottoman court (15th-17th centuries)*	537
Sorce, Francesco	*Conflictual allegories. The image of the Turk as the enemy in Italian Renaissance art*	553
Stănică, Aurel-Daniel	*Cartography of the missing fortresses in Dobrogea: A case study of the Turkish Fortifications*	569
Suman, Selva	*Reading tomb structures as funerary art: The Latin Catholic cemetery in Feriköy, Istanbul*	587
Tezcan, Hülya	*The Cloud Collar as a common trend in Turkic rulers' palaces in the late medieval Islamic world*	601
Tonghini, Cristina	*The citadel of Şanlıurfa and the evolution of Muslim military architecture*	615
Topallı, Elvan	*Queen Marie's Balchik Palace: An example of Eclecticism at the beginning of the twentieth century*	629
Türkantoz, Kayahan	*The use of water in Sohbet spaces in Turkish architecture. From past to present*	643
Uras, Büke	*Decoration for the empire: The art of the painter-decorator Bedros Sirabyan (1833-1898)*	655
Verderame, Nicola	*Mimar Mukbil Kemal's call for the protection of Islamic art*	667
Vryzidis, Nikolaos & Papastavrou, Elena	*Italian and Ottoman textiles in Greek sacristies: Parallels and fusions*	677
Yaman, Bahattin	*The transformation of Ottoman book illustrations in printed works: The case of the* Kitab-ı Muhammediyye	689
Yavuz, Yıldırım	*Contacts of Italo-Levantine Giulio Mongeri and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk at the beginning of the Modernist period in Turkish architecture*	697
Yıldız, Netice & Mahir, Banu	*A manuscript binding in the collection of Kyrenia National Archive, attributable to Çākerī, an eighteenth-century illuminator and lacquer master*	715
Yılmaz, Gülgün	*China-Holland Kütahya interactions on the 18th century wall tiles*	729
Yoltar-Yıldırım, Ayşin	*A lesser-known illustrated manuscript of the Ottoman court historian 'Ārif: The* Rawża al-'Uššāq *(*the Garden of Lovers*) of the Harvard Art Museum*	737